

Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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WAYS OF STABILIZATION OF PEACE

Srdja PRICA

UNDER STATE SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

CHANGES in human history do not occur as a result of wishes and abstract beliefs in the need of changes; like turning-points in the constant process of development they are usually established and, at least partially, adopted only when they begin to thrust themselves upon our attention. The new course in international relations too, does not only depend on the resolve of the leading statesmen to inaugurate it — although their activity can greatly stimulate or prevent new development — but also on the reality which has changed to such an extent that new ways must be discovered in international life.

I think it could be freely said that today we find ourselves in the midst of such a period no matter how and in what direction the new tendencies will develop. The policy of coexistence cannot be taken only as a slogan, invented by an all-powerful propaganda and so cunningly imposed on states and statesmen that they are obliged, often against their subjective wish, to submit to its laws, to look for new paths of international cooperation and understanding. The development of material forces in the world of today — development of technique and productive possibilities of the means of construction and destruction, the degree of development reached in relations between the existing blocs of great powers and a certain balance between the forces with possessions, and finally, the reflection of these changes on the conscience of people — all this has placed mankind before a realistic alternative: either rapid preparation for settling differences by way of war, i. e. by a catastrophe which could scarcely end in the victory of one and defeat of the other side, or find a way to act in the direction of the stabilization of peace.

It would, however, be naive and unrealistic to consider that countries and statesmen — faced with such an alternative — would consciously and resolutely choose the second way, the way of reason, as the only way out of the

dead-lock, that they would dissolve their bloc organizations and groups, abandon their positions in the world and completely renounce their policy of force and pressure. To be sure, many factors, as an expression of certain material forces in international life, will refuse to act in that direction; on the contrary, they will act so as to preserve old bloc methods calculated to prevent the new course of development. Consequently this course, if it finally predominated in international relations, could not be expected to develop unhesitatingly and straight forward but is bound to suffer set-backs, digressions and retrogressions.

Of course, the victory of the policy of coexistence has not been ensured as the result of some inevitable laws of development, which nothing can oppose. In order that this should be completely affirmed in international relations, in order that a broader way could be opened towards a fuller stabilization of peace, it would be necessary to secure the energetic action of all factors in this direction.

Starting from the existing position, as it would be unrealistic to presume that it could be radically altered by peaceful methods, a way could be found, and this has already been confirmed in practice, to tone down and lessen the contradictions by compromises and agreements, which open new ways for new, broader and more significant agreements.

This would actually open more widely the door for the process which has been going on since the beginning of our era after the destruction of feudalism — the process of ever greater unity of the world, linking together of ever larger areas into an economic whole. This process has of course developed through contradictions inside individual countries and in international relations, contradictions which were accompanied by social upheavals and war devastations. Regardless of this, development went on and led to a situation in which the degree of a certain world

unity is expressed in such a way that nothing can happen in any part of the world today without being reflected in another. Despite huge inequalities in the economic development of various countries, which is actually one of the basic sources of international contradictions, nations became increasingly part of a single world economic system while the existing frontiers were increasingly removed. Wars temporarily »solved« these contradictions, creating a situation in which the victorious forces pushed forward with new energy the process of economic unification under conditions not always favourable for economically weaker nations.

Today, however, there is no prospect that war could provide any temporary »solution« and pave the way for a further process of economic linking up of the world. Already after the last war no stronger development of this process ensued; what happened was the creation of countless obstacles and boundaries between national economies. In a world of blocs, the links of world economy and world market have been shattered and efforts are being made to build separate and closed economic systems. The continuation of such practice is not only economically senseless, but tends to aggravate general contradictions to such an extent that a solution might be sought in war, which can now no longer provide any solution. War has changed and is changing its character not only in a military sense, in the sense of war methods, physical destruction, but also in the historical and social sense.

Perhaps it is just this knowledge that war can no longer provide a way out of existing contradictions, together with the endeavours to retain old methods in the settlement of disputes that led to the situation which began to be called »cold war«.

However, cold wars, like real wars, cannot last for ever. To stop at this and endeavour to preserve the peace which bears the name of cold war, is a very uncertain and slippery, even impossible solution. Evidently a more lasting stabilization of peace is indispensable — a stabilization

which shall create a firmer material base and a more favourable atmosphere for more comprehensive cooperation among all countries, regardless of social systems, for coming to terms and making compromises in order to mitigate and remove contradictions.

Of course, the creation of such a basis and such an atmosphere, even the ensurance of a prolonged peace period, would not usher in an era of universal brotherhood and love, characterized by an absence of contradiction disputes and disagreements.

The development of human society will inevitably continue to move amid contradictions: social development in individual countries evolved and must evolve in such divergences, while divergences in international relations may be settled through their mitigation and removal in general competition, which can and must have other means at its disposal than the means of war, force and constant armament.

The removal of artificially created barriers in world economy, the removal of economic discrimination, the opening up of world markets for a freer circulation of goods, aid to economically under-developed countries in their efforts to build their economy as one of the primary prerequisites for equal cooperation, the checking and reduction of armaments, strengthening of cultural and scientific exchanges among nations — all these are matters whose settlement can begin immediately.

Every step forward in this direction would open up new possibilities on the way of even broader and more intensive cooperation among nations and even more solid strengthening of peace.

If statesmen and politicians were capable of comprehending in good time the new tendencies of development and the interests and wishes of nations, they would help in the removal of some obstacles standing in the way of mankind, perhaps the greatest obstacles barring the way towards the goal indicated by modern development.



CHANGE IN PACT CONCEPTIONS

L. ERVEN

THE Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization regularly holds two sessions a year, one in the middle and the other towards the end of the year. The first is usually devoted to technical and organizational questions, and the other to the examination of the international situation and formulating of political conclusions as well as general decisions on the tasks of the Organization in the coming year. If one analyzes the communiqués of these sessions one can follow the evolution of political thought and the physiognomy of this Organization.

This year's session of the Council was held in Paris on December 15th and 16th. It aroused special interest in view of last year's significant events and international meetings and because of certain alterations in the attitudes of great powers. It was interesting to see how these events influenced the conceptions of international problems and plans about the future of the North Atlantic Organization.

What is to be deduced in this regard from the official communiqué issued after this session of the Atlantic Pact Council?

EXTENSION OF COMPETENCE IN THE GERMAN ISSUE

a) First of all, the political consultations of the Atlantic Pact for the first time saw the participation of the delegation of Western Germany who this year became a new member of the Atlantic Pact. In a special sentence, the Council greeted the presence of the West German delegation. It became very active from the outset. The Council entrusted the Bonn Foreign Minister, Von Brentano, with the task of drafting the communiqué on this meeting, in cooperation with the Belgian Minister, Mr. Spaak. Perhaps this accounts for the fact that this communiqué somewhat differs in style from the manner of expression previously used in similar documents of the Atlantic Pact.

The problem of Germany was one of the basic problems at this session, but not in the same form as this Organization treated it till now. The German problem has been a subject of discussion at Atlantic Pact meetings from the very beginning. But these discussions were conducted in connection with Western Germany's inclusion in the Atlantic Pact, first through the European Defense Community, and later in combination with the West European Union. Regardless of the objections that might be called forth by Germany's joining the Atlantic Pact, owing to complications created in the problem of German unification, the problem of Germany was previously treated in the Atlantic Pact within the limits of the agreement system and the agreement goal of the Atlantic Pact. The inclusion of Western Germany in that pact could have been viewed as an extension and perfecting of the security system and defence organization, which has been the basic task of the Atlantic Pact.

However, today the German problem is viewed differently in the Atlantic Pact — namely as a problem of German unification which the Atlantic Pact advocates in line with the principles laid down by the Ministers of the Western Powers at the Second Geneva Conference. The Atlantic Pact Council in its communiqué fully supports the attitude of the Western Foreign Ministers taken in Geneva, condemns the attitude of the Soviet Union and declares at the end of the same paragraph »that the negative result of the Geneva Conference will not in any way minimize the efforts of the Atlantic Pact powers in favour of German unification in freedom, as this unification remains in their eyes an indispensable condition for a just and lasting peace«. The Council also supported other theses of the Western powers in connection with German problems. Thus it »recalls that the Government of the Federal Republic is the only Government freely and legitimately constituted in Germany and that on these grounds it has the necessary qualifications to speak on behalf of Germany and to represent the German people in international affairs«. It also considers that the »security and prosperity of Berlin must in the present international situation be viewed as one of the basic elements of peace of the free world«, and finally, in the concluding passage on Germany, the Council insists on »the importance of constant consultations within the Atlantic Pact on the unification of Germany and the situation in Berlin«.

All these paragraphs of the communiqué, except the last — on the consultations in the Atlantic Pact, represent the wellknown attitudes of the Western powers on the problem of Germany. This problem is of undoubted significance for peace in the world and security of Europe, so it is natural that it should be considered by such an important political organization as the Atlantic Pact. However, what gives a special characteristic to this taking of attitudes towards the German problem, is the insistence of the Atlantic Pact Council on constant consultations of the Atlantic Pact on the problem of German unification. In the whole context of this communiqué, this demand constitutes a demand for or a declaration of the Atlantic Pact competence in the solution of the German problem.

However, the German problem, despite its general political importance, lies beyond the framework of the mutual relations of the parties to the Atlantic Pact Treaty and outside the framework of Art. 51 of the United Nations Charter. The Atlantic Pact powers are not the sole powers, and many of them are not the powers primarily interested in this problem. According to its text, the Atlantic Pact is a defensive alliance on mutual relations between member states and on their joint defence. Demanding that the problem of Germany, as a general problem of peace and European security and not only as a problem of the North Atlantic area, should be solved in the framework of the Atlantic Pact, the Council points to a transformation which has been effected in it. The Atlantic Pact is no longer presented only

as a defensive alliance, but also as a coalition for the realization of definite political aims on the general plane of world policy.

On the other hand, after the inclusion of Western Germany in the Atlantic Pact, this decision of the Council to hold constant consultations on Germany's unification ensures indirectly the participation of Western Germany in the elaboration of the attitudes which the three Western powers will take in subsequent negotiations on the German problem.

CHANGE IN PACT CONCEPTIONS

b) It will be seen from the communiqué of the Atlantic Pact that the Council also examined the problem of Asia and the Middle East. The communiqué contains the following sentence on this point:

»The Council has considered the recent initiatives and provocative declarations of the Soviet Union on the Middle East and Asia. It realizes that this tactics, in conjunction with the steady increase of the Soviet military power, raises new problems and constitutes a new provocation directed at the free world«.

From this conclusion one gets the impression of another new change in the conceptions of the Atlantic Pact as a political-military organization. According to its text, and also according to the way in which it was officially presented, the Atlantic Pact is a defensive organization for the security of member-states whom it protects by joint action against aggression in the North Atlantic area, which is clearly defined in the treaty. This area is exceptionally extended to include eastern Mediterranean and Turkish territory, by the subsequent inclusion of Greece and Turkey. The allusion to the Middle East and Asia, whose terminology is vague but which contains a much clearer idea, shows that the sphere of interest of the Atlantic Pact security has been extended also to the Middle East and Asia. It does not follow from the declaration contained in the communiqué that the military system of the Atlantic Pact has been extended to these areas, as none of the countries in that area is a member of the Atlantic Pact, though it follows undoubtedly that the Atlantic Pact no longer appears as a defensive organization of the North Atlantic area, but as a general political system of a definite number of states for the implementation of all their interests on the world plane.

A MORE OFFENSIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE USSR

Both these parts of the communiqué are drawn up in such a way as to characterize the Atlantic Pact organization as an anti-Soviet political and military organization. There was no doubt in the past either that the Atlantic Pact was opposed to the Soviet Union, although this was often denied. But its anti-Soviet character was confined within the limits of defence from possible Soviet aggression. It was on the defensive, it was organizing defence, political and military. But with the attitude which it took on the problem of Germany and on the problem — as stated in the communiqué

— of the Soviet policy in the Middle East and in Asia, the Atlantic Pact became an active factor in the struggle against the policy of the Soviet Union, no longer in view of the interests of security in the North Atlantic area, but on the wider plane of world policy in all parts of the world.

c) According to various statements by individual political representatives of the Atlantic Pact, it was expected that the Council would at this session examine the question of the extension of Atlantic cooperation beyond the sphere of military organization on which the main attention was centred till now. The political and economic sphere, in which cooperation considerably lagged behind the military, was particularly stressed.

These tendencies, although in a somewhat different sense than expected, found expression in the communiqué, which said: »The Council, establishing that the recent evolution of the international situation, more than ever before, stresses the need for close cooperation between member-countries of the Alliance, such as envisaged in Art. 2 of the Treaty, has decided to entrust the permanent session of the Council with the task of studying the situation and taking all the necessary measures with this object in view«.

Art. 2 of the Atlantic Treaty, referred to by the communiqué, sets down two tasks. According to one, the parties to the treaty shall »contribute to the development of peaceful and friendly international relations, by strengthening their free institutions, ensuring a better understanding of the principles on which these institutions are based and developing conditions suitable for ensuring stability and prosperity.« According to the second task, they shall »endeavour to remove all obstacles in their foreign-economic policy and shall help economic cooperation with each of them or with all«.

Art. 2, particularly in its first part, contains, in addition to the preamble, that clause of the Atlantic Pact which contains elements of ideological character and envisages ideological propaganda as an instrument for the mutual strengthening of political ties among member-states. The second part of Art. 2 contains basic postulates for the development of economic cooperation.

It can be clearly seen from the communiqué which of these two tasks the Atlantic Pact Council primarily takes into consideration. But if one bears in mind that economic cooperation on the principles contained in Art. 2 has already been established and widely developed both in the combined action of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation and the American system of economic aid to foreign countries, and that on the other hand, the Atlantic Pact activity on the ideological basis was neglected in course of time, owing to military and strategic considerations and to the reduction of the intensity of cold war — then it might be presumed that the above quoted paragraph of the communiqué contains tendencies towards a revival of ideological factors in the forthcoming activities of the Atlantic Pact. This might also be concluded from the general spirit of this communiqué. And this, in the present situation and in view of the present needs and interests of peace, would undoubtedly constitute an act of retrogression.

THE UN CHARTER AND THE COLONIAL PROBLEM

Milan BARTOŠ

PROFESSOR OF THE BELGRADE UNIVERSITY

THERE is no doubt that the last decade in the work of the UN constitutes a new epoch in the peaceful liquidation of the colonial question. First of all, one should remember that until the end of the First World War, the question of colonies was looked upon as a strictly internal question of each colonial power, the setting up of colonies being an acquired right of the Metropolises, their national territory; consequently what was going on there was their internal affair. All that the colonial powers had entered into the international law was the Berlin Pact of 1885, the so-called Congo-act, which determined the manner of founding colonies and of enslaving nations, but not the way to govern colonies. At that time, when the division of the world had been completed, and when the last remnants of independent aboriginal states were being destroyed — it was publicly advocated that areas not under the jurisdiction of recognized governments, no matter whether native authorities existed in such territories, were *res nullius*, i. e. no man's land, and could be occupied and held by anybody. However, the meaning of occupation was very carefully defined; it was stated that it must be effective and not fictitious, that it must be notified in a definite manner etc., in order to avoid conflicts between the colonial powers acquiring colonies. The League of Nations entered a new rule in the international public law on colonies. But the question was whether it was a new rule or an old one, only more strongly emphasized. This rule was to the effect that states possessing colonies should govern them on the basis of the principles of humanity. What this formula involved was not defined. Consequently this formula became a decorative rule and was not looked upon as a legal prescript which must be strictly observed or the implementation of which would be controlled by a specially appointed organ.

Although the colonial problem was frequently dealt with by authors in international law, stressed by bourgeois theoreticians, and made the focus of world policy by socialist writers — it was only the intensified activity of the enslaved nations just before the Second World War, and particularly the awakening of the colonial nations during that war, which induced the authors of the UN Charter to devote much more attention to the colonial problems. For the present the UN Charter is the most progressive international law instrument for the solution of the colonial question. We must point out that this is not a codification of rules or a collection of existing rules to date, but the laying down of rules previously unknown which alter the earlier system, thus representing a revolutionary step forward which changes the quality of the question, by turning a so-called internal matter into a question of international significance and character.

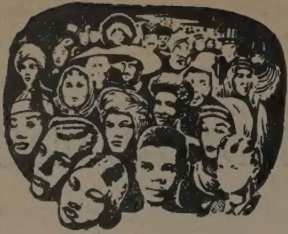
The UN Charter deals with the colonial problem in four directions, creating four different international institutions each of which receives certain sanctions, but this logically established system has neither been completed nor perfected, by sanctions. Still, it is legally, in the domain

of international law, for the benefit of colonial peoples; consequently it is also both progressive and the most perfect of all that has been offered to us so far as positive law. Today, ten years after this system began functioning, we are in a position to draw certain conclusions on the basis of the implementation of written rules.

The first concept on which the colonial question is based today is the combination of the rules formulated in the Charter on the equality of all nations, big and small, and on the right of every nation to self-determination. Although such a concept is not enough legally to consider and ensure, within the framework of the UN, implementation of the right to self-determination by proclaiming the existence of such rights and by raising this rule to a legal principle, we come nevertheless to the conclusion that international law places itself in the service of the realization of this principle and that nations are allowed not only to refer to this principle but also to demand UN to intervene in defence of this principle. The last ten years have shown that reference to this principle was not infrequent, that a stimulation for the use of this right was given from the UN forum, that efforts were made to include this right in the Pact on Human Rights and that the refutation of this right today constitutes a complete anachronism.

The second institution against colonialism is the system of trusteeship. While the question is raised, on the one hand, whether there is an essential difference between the institution of the League of Nations mandate and the institution of the UN trusteeship system, the difference which essentially exists between these two systems, is pointed out in practice. The mandates were divided into different classes (A, B, C.). While the holder of a mandate A. was under obligation to lead the country in question gradually towards independence and emancipation, the holder of a Mandate C was authorized to treat the territory and population as best he could, as the League of Nations had in advance taken the view that an undeveloped people unsuited for independent life was implied here. Today all mandates are characterized by a postulate on the transitoriness of the mandatory powers and a tendency towards emancipation of the population, sooner or later, from all trusteeship when this population would be invested with the right of direct execution of its independence. During the term of the mandate, the strict control of the UN is permanent and very suitable in the struggle for the rights of the people inhabiting the areas under trusteeship.

The third institution introduced by way of the UN Charter is the system of non self-governing areas. Formerly colonies were considered the internal affair of each country. But, according to the Charter, the State governing a non self-governing territory is under obligation to submit reports to the UN on the way it fulfils its obligations towards the non self-governing territory and its population. A special committee of the UN General Assembly considers these reports and criticizes the system of colonial administration. As regards this system there is above all an important legal



criticism. The Charter contains no rule to the effect that the colonial power shall submit regular annual reports on work in colonies; instead of this, the Charter contains a declaration of the powers administering colonies to the effect that they will consider it their sacred duty to adapt colonial rule to the interests of the population, and their promise to submit the Secretary General certain data on the administration of their colonies. Today the colonial powers infer from this that they have not agreed to an international regime in the colonies but that they have accepted a moral obligation to introduce themselves a better and more bearable way of life in the colonies. They point out that their declaration has been entered into the Charter and this declaration only means their readiness to do so and a moral obligation to fulfil their promise. On the other hand, this attempt to suggest a legal minimizing of the obligation was followed by abuse of the written text: some colonial peoples were granted certain freedoms and self-government rights as a concession, so that it is now asserted these are no longer non self-governing areas. These areas being no longer non self-governing it is not possible to ask for reports on the methods of governing these territories. Even if it were so, and it is not actually a fact, this would mean progress. Primarily because the absolute unlimited right of the colonial powers over the colonies has ceased, while the reports should be submitted to the General Assembly, regardless of whether these reports are based on the moral duty of their authors or on a legal obligation.

In any case, these reports are considered by the General Assembly, and the world opinion takes part in their criticism, so that both public opinion and the countries holding colonies are notified that the question of colonies is no longer an internal affair, but a question of the international community. A similar thing happens when there is a wish to cancel the report because the colonial regime has been allegedly abolished and self-government rights granted to the population. First of all, the UN holds that the question whether a colony has become self-governing or not does not depend on the declaration of the administering power. The UN has to examine this question and through this very procedure the colonies legally secure self-government, while the colonial powers have to choose between two evils (two signs of progress for the colonies): whether to submit reports on the governing of the colonies or to confine their influence to the latter and grant the colonial population full self-government rights deferring to the right of the UN, which will be able at any time to raise again the question of the quality of this self-government.

The fourth institution provided by the Charter is the conception, now generally adopted, that important colonial problems such as the problems of French North Africa, should be placed on the agenda of the General Assembly and dealt with as any other political question. The fact that an overwhelming majority for placing a problem on the agenda of the UN can always be found, despite the resistance of the colonial powers which hold the territory concerned, shows that the international community is will-

ing and prepared to qualify, sooner or later, as a judge in the solution of these important problems.

The last four Assemblies were constantly confronted with such problems. It is a fact that the General Assembly did not pass any radical resolutions on these matters and that the demand was voiced at the end of each of these sessions that the discussion should be concluded with as little upheaval as possible. But it is also a fact that these questions were given too much publicity and enjoyed great popularity among the autochthonous masses so that every session of the Assembly should be taken as a new progress in the colonial question, which is today a matter for the consideration of the whole international community.

These four aspects of the placing of the colonial question before the UN, the right of the Organization to determine whether the right of self-determination of peoples is involved in every single colonial movement, especially if an illegal movement is in question, the right of the General Assembly to criticize the methods used in governing colonies and to demand reports from the colonial administration, as well as the duty of States to submit reports on their administration in non self-governing areas, and finally the right of strict control which the UN exercises over this administration, leads us towards a system which completely differs from the pre-war system. The fate of the colonial peoples is no longer an internal affair of the countries possessing colonies. This fate is above all inherent in the right to self-determination of the people concerned. Only in the second place is it an action for which the whole international community is responsible and on the basis of which the international community is authorized to examine the method of administration of these peoples, to consider the basic questions of these peoples as its own and make recommendations, in all cases, to the population and local authorities as to whether the measures of the States administering State should be accepted, how and to what extent. This means on the one hand, encouragement to the colonial populations to strive for their freedom; certainty that they will not be ill-treated because of this struggle; certainty that they would not be discriminated against more intensively than they already are and a prospect that sooner or later each of the present colonies will become for its population an independent homeland.

On this account as well as because of the usual practice according to which important colonial questions are placed on the agenda of the UN General Assembly as independent questions, the problem of colonies as a whole takes on the aspect of problems which have passed completely beyond the internal criterion of the dominating powers. These problems have passed on to the international plane and this in all their legal aspects. We regret that the homeland of Robespierre, who was the first to criticize the colonial system, still takes the view that examination of the colonial question by the UN means interference in its internal affairs. We believe that no French intellectual or conscious politician in his intimate speculations truly considers this viewpoint, which France adopts for reasons of prestige, as essentially correct. But even though the colonial problem is at present treated with less sharpness out of consideration for France or some other country, it is indisputable for both the international law and international policy, that the development of the international organization as an institution competent for supervising the rule of colonial powers and, which is particularly important — also as an institution competent for guaranteeing rights to the peoples under colonial administration, is progressing from day to day so that the process of internationalization is clearly leading towards a solution which can only end in the full emancipation of the subjected peoples. The equality of nations

is the ideal of the Organization, and there can be no equality without freedom and complete independence. Only when all the peoples on earth become free and independent, will it be possible to liquidate the colonial problem. In the meantime we are confronted by the question of legal emancipation in the relations between peoples which hold sway over other nations and these nations themselves. This problem is simultaneously the problem of the UN. It is being solved, but its solution, just as the solution of all great problems in history, cannot be taken as a matter which is to be settled overnight. A series of palliatives must precede the final solution, but just as the Charter has legally created something out of nothing (and this because the conditions for struggle were ripe), so the colonial problem has created new conditions in the UN practice, conditions of ideological significance for colonial peoples, conditions which are most decisively ripening from day to day.

In the course of the ten years of existence of the UN, possibilities have been created for a new practice which indicate that the struggle for the freedom of colonies has been transferred to a legal sphere and that the centre of this struggle is the UN. This does not mean that the struggle is going on only in that Organization. We are witnessing today the fight of the colonial peoples who are waging a struggle primarily on their own soil, aware that nobody will give them freedom unless they win it themselves. But their struggle has all the more prospects of success as the efforts of political struggle in the UN are growing parallel with the struggle in the field — efforts which surely have a stimulative character for those who believe in the progress of mankind and in the right of peoples to make use of it. A relatively brief period, for ten years is a very short span in the development of mankind, shows a considerable progress from which no return to the past is possible. Before the Second World War, international measures stood in the way of raising the colonial question on an international plane. This meant interference in the internal affairs of the countries concerned. Today, no matter how much individual nations maintain that this constitutes an interference in their internal affairs, practice lays down that the UN is and must be competent to discuss all problems of this kind. Today this is a rule which nobody questions. The international community has begun to examine problems, it continues to examine them and it will probably do so in the future. The problems of colonial peoples are not and cannot be the internal affair of the administering countries. These problems are at least a common affair of the peoples under foreign rule and of the peoples who rule them.

And as soon as a question takes the aspect of a common problem between two nations, it automatically becomes an international problem. A people should have great strength to recognize the right of independence to a people under its rule. Consequently, until that strength has grown, until such time as the case of India, Ceylon, Burma and Pakistan will be repeated, until these rules have been applied to Kenya, Malaya and other areas — the interest of mankind demands that a jurisprudence develops within the framework of the UN according to which the right to consider and solve the colonial problem in the interests of peace and international security is recognized to the UN. As the security of nations and the possibility of creating an international organ is involved here — if the colonial problem is not correctly solved in good time, — the question of security will be firmly connected with the colonial problem. Consequently this involves the basic competence of the UN. As long as no efforts are made to abolish all discrimination in colonial possessions, it will be impossible for the UN to fulfil its duty of abolishing discrimination. Until the UN has solved the question of strengthening every

people's will to secure the freedom of self-determination, the colonial problem cannot be settled, as the question of self-determination must primarily be solved on the colonial plane.

All this shows clearly that the colonial problem in the UN is the result of accumulated and unsolved problems which have piled up in the course of history. But just as historical problems ripen, just as they reach the historical arena and disappear, so we believe that the colonial problem has reached the UN forum in order to disappear legally from it. We have no possibility to make the States act beyond the Charter; it is not infrequently that the UN is incapable of making the States respect the obligations which they accepted by signing the Charter, but apart from this, the anticolonial majority which has formed in the UN compels the Organization to start solving the colonial problem more earnestly. The unpopularity of the colonial question generally, the open attacks made on the colonial question by the USSR and Eastern European countries, the disgust which this question arouses among the peoples who until recently lived under the colonial rule of other nations, the anti-colonial traditions of the South American nation and the conscious resistance to the colonial question organized by Yugoslavia together with a number of other countries, all this has resulted in turning the anti-colonial majority in the Fourth Committee of the UN into a constant force which is fighting against the backward conceptions of those governments who are trying to use their colonial possessions outside the framework of the Charter. But these forces of conscious resistance are seeing to it that greater significance is attached to the colonial question than to other problems, that this question be examined systematically without any omissions and it is thanks to them that the systematic struggle of the last 10 years has borne considerable fruit. Today, at the end of the tenth anniversary of a period of organized struggle in the UN, we can point out rightly and with satisfaction that this struggle has acquired firm channels and an intensity which often goes beyond strict diplomatic limits. Today one reckons with the consistency of this struggle and its quality as it will provide many ways for preventing the shedding of blood, unless absolutely necessary, and consequently for maintaining a longer and more consistent period of international peace, while facilitating the development of a general tendency in international law, under the protection of this peace, even before the colonial nations are enabled to follow the path of full evolution in the implementation of their right to self-determination.



TWO ASPECTS OF ATOMIC PHYSICS

Charles-NOEL MARTIN

*Atoms for Peace
Atoms for War*

II. RADIOACTIVITY

IN order to fully comprehend the difference between our time and the past it is indispensable to dwell a little in the sphere of technical science, which we know is assuming a steadily growing role in contemporary development. Moreover, modern man can no longer ignore the forces which threaten his very existence while at the same time opening hitherto undreamed of prospects of development.

This may seem contradictory and almost incomprehensible. However, here lies the entire problem raised by radio-activity, a scientific discovery which is hardly fifty years old but already reveals dire prospects for the future.

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When we visit a radiologist to have a limb or a lung X-rayed, our body too is subjected to a penetrating radiation. These rays are called X-rays. Their nature is the same as light but only far stronger. Light is not strong enough to penetrate opaque and solid bodies, while X-rays, the wavelength of which is shorter than that of light, are capable of penetrating deeply into live tissue.

However, during their entire trajectory the rays collide with the electrons and molecules which constitute live matter, thus upsetting the equilibrium of electrical charges and preventing the regular process of continuous chemical reactions which ensure the life of living organisms.

Every dose of radiation inevitably affects the body: the stronger the radiation the greater the damage; if weak, the attacked cells quickly resume their normal functions. Today the effects of radiation are fully known and applied radiology benefits by half a century of experience in precisely determining the dose allowed. The dose of radiation necessary to destroy the tissue cells of a tumor without unduly damaging the adjacent tissue and the necessary interval between two successive radiations has long since been accurately determined.

This repetition of already well known facts will enable us to gain better understanding of the nature of radioactivity and its effects.

The atom nuclei, which contain almost all matter in an infinitesimally small volume, are sometimes unstable. Owing to their complex structure, atom nuclei can release surplus energy by ejecting atom particles or gamma radiation, thus creating the three types of radiation known as Alpha, Beta and Gamma rays.

The first two types of radiation are of corpuscular character and consist namely of small particles of matter ejected from the nucleus, as that of helium (a group of

four nucleons which constitute an alpha particle) or an electron (beta particle) for instance, while gamma rays are formed by pure radiation whose wavelength is even shorter than that of X-rays, and is therefore also more penetrating.

Although containing vast quantities of energy, alpha and beta rays do not penetrate human skin and are already absorbed by a layer of air several centimetres or decimetres thick. Gamma radiation as X-rays however penetrates solid bodies.

These are the external effects of radioactivity. However if larger quantities of radioactive dust are absorbed either by inhaling or orally, alpha and beta radiation can do serious harm to the organism as these particles are entirely surrounded by live tissue which they can damage notwithstanding their low penetration strength.

What remains to be known of radioactivity?

Just that radioactivity is a characteristic phenomenon of atomic nuclei and that nothing can change its source and cause. Thus for instance every type of radioactive atom has its period of activity. This interval is called its period. This is the time which is necessary for a certain quantity of a radioactive substance to disintegrate by half, while the remainder becomes stable, mainly in the form of some other element.

Let us take the example of radium. This is element No. 88 in Mendeleev's periodic system. The extremely complex nucleus of radium (88 protons and 138 neutrons) emanates alpha rays (2 protons and 2 neutrons) but very slowly: thus one gram of radium will only be reduced to half a gram after the lapse of 1600 years. The second half was first converted into Polonium (element 84) which is also radioactive. After passing through another stage this process is concluded by the forming of a stable lead isotope (element 82).

This is an example of so-called natural radioactivity as radium is found in nature and derives from uranium (element 92) which is as old as the earth, i. e. about four billion years.

We are primarily interested, however, in artificial radioactivity. Beginning from 1933, after the research work carried out by Professor Joliot and Irene Joliot Curie, the atomic physicists are able to create a series of unstable atoms from stable elements found in nature.

The bombarding of copper, iron, tin and bismuth, to mention only a few of the 80 elements which can be used for this purpose, in accelerators (Van de Graaf cyclotrons and betatrons) converts atomic particles into radioactive isotopes. Their life or, to be more precise, their period of radioactivity ranges from a few seconds to hours, days and months.

In this way we have acquired a whole series of radioactive substances apart from the elements emanated by alpha, beta and gamma radiation, whose periods also range from one second to several decades.

At any rate the radiation of artificial isotopes is dangerous. It is necessary to protect oneself by thick concrete or lead screens thus preventing those who manipulate these

substances from absorbing greater doses of radiation which would exceed the limits set by sanitary regulations.

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This brief elementary course in radioactivity is necessary and should be tirelessly reiterated as we are witnesses of the tragic truth that these facts are unknown to an élite. The peoples are alive to the dangers involved by the exploitation of nuclear energy, but this élite ignores it. Consequently, political leaders and general staffs are insufficiently acquainted with these dangers although we are living at a time when at least a basic working knowledge of radioactivity is indispensable if one wishes to perceive the outlines of our atomic future. Atoms for peace and atoms for war make it indispensable to be fully cognizant of the nature of radioactivity.

This is actually one of the most important issues which exerted a heavy pressure on political and military events in the course of the past ten years. It is extremely difficult to convince laymen of their mistake to consider nuclear and thermonuclear bombs as merely very big bombs. The race in super armaments and the acquisition of super power which continues for centuries and which led to the production of ever mightier weapons and ever stronger armour seems to have reached its ultimate goal in the nuclear projectiles. In the first part of the article we have seen the awe-inspiring figures which express their destructive power. But these numerical data are pure abstractions devoid of any deeper meaning.

The realisation that a hydrogen bomb equivalent to 20 megatons of TNT can obliterate a certain city and that its radius is ten times greater than that of the original A-bomb dropped on Hiroshima is just a dry statistical fact devoid of all meaning because the actual effects of these explosions are diverse and entirely novel. Many of the effects caused by an atom bomb explosion are still virtually unknown as the study of organic damages suffered by human beings can only be carried out in rare and secondary cases.

This is best substantiated by the two explosions in Japan in 1945, the consequences of which are only now being fully manifested. It is now after ten years have elapsed since these explosions that cases of leukemia have been registered. Eye cataracts and progressive blindness owing to neutron bombardment at the time of explosion have only been noted a few years ago. We also know that the much slower effects caused by the changes of the human hereditary factor will also take place, thus affecting the offspring of the people subjected to radiation.

In this context one should particularly stress the fact that the effect of radiation on hereditary characteristics always causes surprises and seems difficult to understand. This conclusion based on experience and extensive research, although still insufficiently explained, was reached by the great geneticist Müller by means of experiments and continuous research initiated already in 1927. His experiments with animals (mice, insects) show that even the lightest dose of radiation inevitably changes the structure of the genes which transmit the permanent characteristics of every living species from generation to generation. It is generally known for instance that the colour of eyes is transmitted to our children according to the apparent laws of probability, which seem unpredictable but are actually extremely precise when subjected to mathematical analysis. It is the same with other physical phenomena, as for instance the internal structure of our bodies, susceptibility or immunity towards certain illnesses, etc.

It would seem that man and woman with their 48 chromosomes (contained in each cell of their living tissue)

transmit about twenty thousand different characteristics to their offspring which constitute an individual. Sometimes a new characteristic appears which did not exist in the previous generations and this phenomenon is called mutation. This mutation then becomes an integral part of the thousand individual characteristics and as such is transmitted to the future generations according to the laws of genetics.

Only one out of 500 mutations is favourable, however, while 499 are negative and unfavourable. In other words, it would be more than illusory to believe that certain mutations will perhaps lead to the advent of a superman, stronger and more intelligent than ordinary men. On the contrary, everything points to the fact that it is of paramount importance to avoid exposing human beings to the diverse causes, primarily radiation, which could provoke mutation.

This is eloquently testified by a little known but highly instructive example. Statistical tests were carried out in the United States with 10,000 children and grandchildren of professional radiologists whose profession makes it necessary for them to absorb larger doses of radiation. The results gathered were then compared with those yielded by another series of tests which covered another group of 10,000 children whose parents also belong to the medical profession but are not exposed to radiation. The results of these tests are all the more alarming as they cover only two generations while it is clearly proved that the effects of radiation increase with the passage of time. Generally speaking of course, radiologists' children are less resistant to disease and suffer more frequently from heart and eye ailments, as well as tumors. Lastly, there are much more girls than boys, this being a purely hereditary consequence which geneticists explain by the fact that most radiologists in the United States are women.

Here is a viewed example which proves without doubt that man is just as susceptible to the effects of radiation as mice for instance and perhaps even more than they are. Thousands of Japanese affected by radiation during the Hiroshima and Nagasaki explosions will create a series of generations with certain mutative characteristics. Another, far more serious fact is that the dose of radiation in our atmosphere is gradually but steadily increasing after every experimental explosion carried out during the past ten years. Moreover, this dose will be still further increased owing to the industrial use of nuclear energy for which preparations are currently under way.

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Why is this so? Because the release of nuclear energy which was brought about in 1945 is also being achieved today in the same manner by the process known as fission (splitting) which we described in our previous article.

When split in two after colliding with a neutron, a uranium nucleus gives birth to two elements which appear in the middle of the periodical system. Thus one nucleus of element 92 will give two nuclei after fission, i. e. elements 37 and 55, 43 and 49 or 42 and 50. Thus a certain mass of uranium which was subjected to atomic fission yields a whole series of about thirty elements which belong to the middle of the periodic system and are represented by about 150 isotopes most of which are radioactive.

In other words, the release of energy in an atomic battery or atom bomb is necessarily carried out by a great number of highly radioactive substances which are collectively called fission products. The radiation power of the latter is notable. Thus the mushroom of an atom bomb explosion (the Hiroshima and Bikini bombs) contains an amount of radioactivity equivalent to 820,000 tons of ra-

dium. This radioactivity soon declines owing to the short periods of most isotopes within the mushroom and is therefore equivalent, after 24 hours, when dispersed by the wind over an immense area, to about 133 tons of radium.

Unfortunately the fission products also include several isotopes with extremely long periods which sometimes reach several thousand years, and even 20 million years in the case of Iodine 129.

Consequently the conclusion is clear; during the past ten years the experimental explosions have dispersed a small but no less significant quantity of radioactive isotopes which slowly increases the intensity of atmospheric radiation. We are well aware that the diffusion of the radioactive particles is effected very rapidly and effectively, as for several years already local radiation detectors indicate an increase of the normal level of radioactivity within a few days after every experimental explosion. A recent example was provided by the thermonuclear explosion in Siberia. An increase of atmospheric radiation was registered throughout the world 5 to 10 days after the explosion. In this case it is easy to explain, as the bomb set off was doubtless of the U type with three stadiums (fission-fusion-fission) and was exploded at a great altitude. Normally the super-bombs which explode at low altitudes shoot up immense quantities of earth which is vaporized by the heat generated and driven up to the higher strata of the atmosphere where it mingles with the products of nuclear fission. The extremely fine particles which begin their descent (only half retain their radioactivity after a lapse of several hours) transmit the greater part of their radioactivity to the soil on which they fall, thus spreading it over a certain area in the vicinity of the site of the explosion. This was also the case of the thermonuclear bomb which was set off on the Bikini islands in 1954, while the ashes called forth by this explosion dropped four hours later on the Fukuyu Maru fishing boat which was 140 kilometers distant from the site of the explosion. The area covered by the precipitation of radioactive dust may spread over several thousand square kilometres, depend-

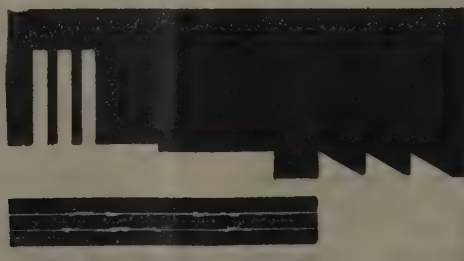
ing on the winds. In case of explosions at great altitudes there are no earth particles but only fission products which, widely dispersed, may remain suspended in the atmosphere for several months or years before falling to the earth with rain or winds.

It is known that for a whole month after the explosion of March 1, 1954 the Japanese laboratories registered a radioactive rain which fell on the soil of the Japanese Archipelago. The intensity of radiation in these places was much higher than average and an analysis of the dust showed that it actually represents a compound of fission products.

The radiation dose is not only increased by over-all radiation through water, milk or meat from cattle which fed on radioactive grass, but is particularly dangerous when living organisms absorb fission products with a long period. Some of these accumulate in bone tissue, particularly strontium 90 (period 25 years) and provokes a cancerous disease of the bones which is extremely hard to diagnose in time as the first symptoms appear only after several years or even ten or twenty years in some case.

What conclusion does the second part of this study which is dedicated to radioactivity and its effects lead to?

Many arguments can be advanced but every fair minded atomic expert, transcending the great fear which paralyses most of his colleagues, namely the fear of provoking displeasure and exaggerating in pessimistic predictions, can only express his misgivings concerning the foregoing facts. And when such an atomic expert compares his scientific provisions with the results obtained by biologists and geneticists, he can only wish to acquaint all peoples and heads of states with the facts specialized science enables him to foresee with certainty. It is then that all considerations cease for him. There is no more policy or disputes, but only a single world with a single human species which is threatened by a gradual but inexorable increase of artificial radioactive elements brought about during the past ten years and with which our planet is already literally smothered.



THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT PARTY AND THE REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY

Herbert WEHNER

THE German Social Democrat Party considers the reunification of a free Germany as the most urgent task of German policy. For the German social democrats this implies both the recognition of the right to self-determination and the right to peaceful negotiation, which can contribute notably to the easing of international tension and ensure the peaceful development of Europe.

In spite of the statement of the Prime Ministers on the common responsibility of the four powers for the solution of the German problem and the reunification of Germany, the Geneva foreign ministers' conference was unable to make any progress and eventually bring the present division of Germany to an end. The German Social Democrat Party therefore urges its people and all other peaceful nations who have the abatement of international tension at heart to promote and create new possibilities for the parallel solution of two closely interrelated problems, i. e. »European security and the restoration of German unity.«

The maintenance of a divided Germany is tantamount to the continuation of tension in Central Europe. The abolishment of this division would not only enable the German people to establish and promote their own state according to the principles of democracy, but would also represent a paramount factor of military security in Europe. Only short-sighted politicians, or those who would profit by the weakening of peace can strive to maintain the partition of Germany. The longer the present state of affairs continues, the greater the danger that resurgent anti-democratic and ultra-nationalist forces will assume the leadership in the movement for German reunification, the greater the danger that the forces on both sides of the divided country which are willing to negotiate mutually will be repressed and relegated to the background. If the reunification of Germany is not achieved by means of agreement between the four big powers and is not sealed by a Peace Treaty concluded with such a united Germany, Germany will always threaten to become a sore point in Europe. It would be a fatal mistake to presume that such a trouble spot could be held under control by maintaining a divided Germany and enlisting her component parts within the orbits of the antagonistic power blocs. Peace must rely on the democratic forces in Germany. However, these forces will be jeopardized if the present division is not ended. If the dismembered parts of Germany are actually nothing but protectorates of the big power blocs, regardless of the »sovereignty« loudly proclaimed by the latter's governments, the geographic territory of Germany will be converted into a festering sore, which will gradually contaminate the other parts of Europe.

In the opinion of the German Social Democrat Party, the division of Germany can only be abolished if the East and West abandon their attempts to draw a unified Germany into their respective military and political systems. The draft proposal submitted to the Bundestag on December 2, 1955 by the Social Democrat fraction also contains

the following passage: »The security of Germany and her neighbours can only be based on a treaty under which all parties to the latter can, in case of attack from any side whatever, count on the assistance of the other signatory states who have all been invested with the same rights and duties for this purpose.«

Consequently the German Social Democrat Party demands fourpower negotiations with the aim of devising a solution for German reunification such as all parties concerned would refrain from their attempts to enlist the newly united Germany within their respective military blocs or defence systems. Such an agreement should, however, enable the newly united Germany to assume her rights and duties within a joint system of collective security formed by both sides in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. This claim doubtless coincides with the postulates formulated by Edward Kardelj, Vice President of the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council, in one of his recent speeches in which he laid down three principles which should constitute the basis of the solution of the German problem: First, the present balance of power should not be disturbed; second, the German people should take part in the solution of this problem on the basis of equal rights; third, the internal system of Germany must not be imposed by any international decisions, but should be the exclusive concern of the German people.

The German Social democrats are aware of the close connexion between the German problem and the problems of armaments restriction and the creation of a European security system. It is precisely for this reason that the German social-democrats strive to ensure such a solution of the German problem as would coincide with the efforts to limit armaments and establish a system of European security. However, difficulties have arisen which impede the solution of the German problem owing to the continued arming of both East and West Germany as integral parts of the power blocs, thus increasing the threat to peace.

The policy of reunification pursued by the Social Democrat Party corresponds to the fundamental political trends which are gaining increasing prominence throughout the world, namely the abolishment of power blocs by means of a collective security system. The concrete prospects for the establishment of German national unity can only be discerned in the light of the successful efforts of those states and governments which champion the policy of peaceful active coexistence between countries with different social systems. It is here that common points can be found which may lead to a greater harmony of concerted action. The Social Democrat Party urges the Government to endeavour »to dispel mistrust and gain confidence in over-all negotiations, thus inciting the four big powers to resolve the two interrelated issues of European security and German reunification«. The Social Democrat Party will press for the fulfillment of this demand until it gains the support of

the majority of the people. By so doing the German Social Democrat Party will doubtless work towards the fulfilment of a task which will contribute to the relaxation of world tension.

The question as to the character of a reunited Germany has been frequently raised of late, particularly on the Soviet side. It was stated that the character of reunited Germany must be determined prior to its unification. The aforementioned draft programme submitted by the Social Democrat Party on December 2, 1955 stated: The German people wish for good relations with all their neighbours, while assuming at the same time that no attempts will be made on any side whatever to limit their right to determine the form and substance of the German state and social system by themselves.

The preamble of the working programme of the German Social Democrat Party, drafted by Kurt Schumacher, begins with the following sentence: »The German post-war Social Democrat Party stems from the idea of creating such a Germany as will preclude the repetition of past horrors«. This is a solemn obligation of the Social Democrat Party, both regarding the home and foreign policy of the German state.

A statement by the Chairman of the German Social Democrat Party apropos of the four power conference in 1949 contained the following passage: »German unity will only be ensured on a democratic basis if the German people are enabled to adjust their economy and cultural life to the best of their own knowledge and requirements. The German Social Democrats do not consider the measures enforced by the Soviet occupying forces in Eastern Germany as socialist. The German Social Democrats want the same forms of socialization and land reform for both zones. They

are resolutely opposed, however, to the identification of the concept of democratization of the Eastern zone with the denationalization of the major industrial projects and contend that apart from the socialized big plants and workers, it is necessary to assist and foster agriculture, the crafts and middle classes in urban and rural areas. Chairman Erich Olenhauer stated at the Berlin session of the German Social Democrat Party in 1954: »We Social Democrats are not ready to accept without consideration what has been created in the Soviet zone. Nevertheless, wherever the monopolies of property and education have been abolished, we will endeavour to preserve a sound nucleus. The reunification of Germany cannot be achieved by the mere incorporation of the Eastern zone into Western Germany. The restitution of the big land holdings or the key industries to their former owners is out of question according to Social Democratic concepts. But it would indisputably be necessary to indemnify the former owners. The integration of the present economic and social system of the Eastern zone into a reunited Germany is the exclusive competence of a freely elected all-German Parliament.

The foregoing clearly shows the character of the united Germany the Social Democrats are struggling for. Such a Germany would preclude both internally and externally every possibility of a repetition of past horrors. This is in the interest both of national policy and international socialism. In this respect also, the objectives of the German Social Democrat Party coincide with the efforts of those forces in the world which strive for the peaceful solution of disputes. The Social Democrat Party wishes to contribute to the elimination of past horrors which, particularly during the Hitler regime, wrought untold misery upon the German people and mankind as a whole.

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THE FEDERAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF LAST YEAR

Vladimir SIMIĆ

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

ACCORDING to the constitutional system and rules of procedure of the Federal National Assembly, the legislative initiative belongs to every member and every Committee of the House, as well as to the Federal Executive Council. It is understandable that in practice it is the Federal Executive Council which has the initiative in this respect, as its functions and internal organization turn this initiative into an important instrument for pursuing a definite policy in various branches of state administration. As declarations, recommendations and decisions fall under the competence of the Assembly committees — in addition to the latter's task of discussing draft laws — and as the above mentioned are different forms of Assembly acts, the need has presented itself in practice for linking more closely the Assembly committees with the Federal Executive Council, and for informing them directly of both the legal proposals under preparation or consideration and the course of implementation of the law and the legal validity of regulations in general implementation. The most suitable form in which this need might be satisfied appeared to be the setting up of joint commissions of the Federal National Assembly and the Federal Executive Council. Eleven such commissions were formed and their functions and competence are clearly shown in their names. These joint commissions are: on regulations concerning the distribution of social income, on the credit and bank system, on cooperative bodies, on trades, on invalidity insurance and pensions, on the organization of scientific work, on the organization of the health service, on work relations, on workers' management, on the maintenance of self-governing organizations and institutions, and on the regulation of the organization of the state administration and civil service system.

It is characteristic of our constitutional system, of our constitutional law, but also of our socialist democracy, that these joint commissions had not been foreseen in the existing constitutional clauses nor in the Assembly regulations. They have come into being and function today as a result of the decision of our State and political leadership, with the object of satisfying the above mentioned need. Their origin determines both their place and legal position in our system. Although this question calls for a more comprehensive, deeper legal analysis, it may be said straight away that these joint commissions perform delegated functions, exhausting their competence in the comprehensive and carefully studied preparation of draft laws and other acts to be passed, following the prescribed procedure, either by the Federal National Assembly or its committees, or by the Federal Executive Council. But if the competence of the joint commissions is exhausted in this kind of work, today, after their formation, one could not talk about the work

of the Federal National Assembly and the Federal Executive Council, as its inner body, without taking into consideration the useful and extensive work of these commissions. In the brief period of their existence so far, without considering the work of other commissions and subcommissions formed by the Assembly committees, these joint commissions have held a number of meetings and conferences, drawn up a large number of reports, conducted many enquiries, made a number of studies while working in plenary sessions or in groups and sub-commissions, on a whole series of legal proposals and drafts as well as on other acts in various fields of social, economic and political life.

Perhaps such methods and such broad bases of preparatory work in working out legal drafts and other acts which are examined and passed by the Federal National Assembly or, as the case may be, the Federal Executive Council as its inner body, slow down the work of the National Assembly, but in this way, in the present phase of the building up of socialism and socialist social relations, we ensure the highest possible degree of verifying objective and subjective circumstances and facts which affect such development, in keeping with the economic laws and other historical conditions. Such procedure is characteristic and in the spirit of the principles of socialist democracy, which are not given in advance, or are so only in a general theoretical sense, but are being built up and completed by constant stimulation, strengthening or freeing of economic, social and political forces — those democratic forces whose onward movement inevitably creates ever more complete socialist relations and better and more perfect democratic forms of social and political life.

Even the briefest summary of the work accomplished last year by the Federal National Assembly confirms these observations. Whereas the enumeration of the work, accomplished in 1954 in its joint and separate session, as well as in its committees, in addition to some other information, filled seven numbers of the »Federal National Assembly Bulletin« with a total of 166 pages, these same enumerations and information items for 1955 were set forth on only 48 pages. However, the bulk of material in the 1955 Bulletin covers information on the work of joint commissions which were formed this year, while reports on the work of the Assembly committees are next in bulk.

Only after having noted these facts can one correctly understand and appraise the significance of the constitutional reform effected by the Constitutional Law of January 13th, 1953. As regards the basic representative body of the Federation, this reform, as against the Constitution of 1946, particularly stressed the decisive position of the National Assembly. Besides this, after the abolition of the Presidium

and Government and the setting up of the Federal Executive Council as an inner body of the National Assembly — apart from the essential changes in organization and authorization of the Federal Administration — this Constitutional Law actually legalized the political organization essentially differing from the Constitution of 1946. When we add the essentially different social organization (the right of producers to self-government in economy, the right of citizens to social management in various bodies and institutions, self-government of the working people in the municipality, in the city and district, the right to work etc., etc.) then it is beyond doubt that this sets up the new bases of the constitutional system in Yugoslavia.

Although considerable changes in social life as well as in the sphere of political and economic development of the country had already been made and were being implemented in socialist practice, before being legalized through this reform, it is nonetheless clear that the new bases of the constitutional system called for due adaptation, corresponding organization and preparations. In addition to this, new democratic forms of social and political events, as well as economic development, which increasingly aimed at broadness, as well as at ever smaller territorial — political and economic units at the basic support of the economic and general development of the community as a whole — have

set new tasks, established new relations, stimulated new energies and given precedence to the initiative of workers and broad masses. All this decisively influenced above all our election law, the rights and duties of the people's deputies and other people's representatives as well as the organization and methods of work of those Assembly organs and working bodies (committees) in which the decisive role of the National Assembly is centred under the new constitutional system.

In the second year of the present Federal National Assembly, all the aspects of the new constitutional system were expressed in the comprehensive activities of the organs which are its upholders. This activity was particularly extensive and significantly expressed in the work of the joint commissions of the Federal National Assembly and the Federal Executive Council as well as in the work of the Assembly committees. Bearing in mind this work and its results it may be concluded that next year the Assembly Plenum will be far busier working on the further legalization of those necessary instruments which impose themselves as a supplementary deepening of the new bases of social and political organization, and as a further step towards even more perfect socialist relations and the building up of socialism in our country.

THE COMMITTEES OF THE FEDERAL PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

Dr Jovan DJORDJEVIĆ

PROFESSOR OF THE BELGRADE UNIVERSITY

THE Committees of the Federal People's Assembly were established after the inauguration of the present Assembly following the general elections in November 1952. As distinct from the Yugoslav Constitution of 1946, the 1953 Constitutional law provides for Parliamentary Committees to which it devotes a special chapter (Art. 62—69). The new Constitution entrusted two important functions to these Committees: a) the preparation and discussion of draft laws and other decisions before submission to the Assembly; b) the undertaking of initiatives and the public discussion of matters of general interest relating to the enforcement of laws and policies and to the work of the Federal Executive Council and the Federal Administration.

The rules of procedure of the Federal People's Assembly determine the terms of reference and the machinery of the Parliamentary Committees while at the same time establishing new committees most of which were nonexistent in the previous People's Assembly. The new Parliamentary Committees remained unchanged from their inception to date. They assumed a characteristic and important role in the Assembly and its work and are therefore significant not only in themselves as committees but also for the Assembly itself, as elements of the new Yugoslav Parliamentary system. It should be stressed in this connexion that the Committee system has been introduced in all representative bodies. The Committees in the People's Assemblies of the individual federated Republics are more or less identical to those in the Federal Assembly. Even the People's Committees have the so-called committee-members' commissions

which actually represent the opposite numbers of the more developed and stronger parliamentary committees. During the past few years, however, the commissions in the People's Committees played an increasingly important part, thus becoming if not paramount, at least interesting and characteristic institutions of local self-government.

The Federal Parliamentary Committees are not new institutions unknown to parliamentary history and theory. On the contrary, parliamentary committees are today inseparable institutions of parliament even in those countries which, as Great Britain, are opposed in principle to the committee system in Parliament. Apart from this, the existence and role of committees are marked by two fundamental and general tendencies. The first is reflected in the growing influence and role of committees both in parliament and in the political life and system of a country, which is matched by the ever growing influence and importance of the representative bodies and the role of public opinion (democracy). Conversely, the second tendency consists in minimizing the role of the committees, thus reducing them to mere technical preparatory bodies, especially if the government is invested not only with legislative initiative but also with actual power. Many other trends have appeared besides these general tendencies in the political history of parliamentarianism. Thus the Committees can be converted from institutions for the promotion of the parliamentary system into instruments which restrict and weaken this system. It is a well known tendency revealed by certain parties and oligarchies in political and party life to convert

committees into political organs which are feared by government, while the Parliament is faced with foregone decisions on which it has only to vote. Although the explanations of these phenomena of modern parliamentarism are often exaggerated (as in the book entitled «Committee» by the former Professor of the Paris Faculty of Law Joseph Barthélémy) there can be no doubt that the mounting importance of parliamentary committees does not necessarily imply the victory of the democratic forces and parliamentarism under all conditions and political relations. The history of many countries (as the Parliamentary history of the Third Republic in France and the History of the United States Senate in various phases of its development) shows that parliamentary committees gained such a degree of independence in some cases that they became elementary political institutions, thus often arrogating to themselves an important part of the Parliament and even of the government's sovereign rights. These changes in the parliamentary system can also be called forth by the transfer of a series of parliamentary functions to individual committees. Thus there were cases when committees were entrusted with various census and judiciary powers, and were even invested with legislative functions. (Italian Parliamentary Committees under the 1947 Constitution, for instance). However, those committees can assume a decisive role in the administrative system of a country only in the framework of their traditional positions. The factors underlying these changes are diverse, and we will mention only the most important which include, inter alia, a tacit agreement between the political parties to settle their disputes and reach compromises discreetly, outside of public platforms and political platforms; the influence of tradition and the doctrine on the superiority of parliament and subordination of the government which can never enjoy complete confidence; the incapacity of the government to ensure a stable majority and support of its policy, etc.

Apart from these general phenomena, the different constitutional versions of the status and role of committees as well as the experience yielded by the committee system in individual countries is of especial interest for parliamentary theory and practice. The theory and practice of the Yugoslav parliamentary committees is also of considerable interest for the general parliamentary theory. Although two centuries of experience in this field are still insufficient to warrant the drawing of definite and comprehensive conclusions, the generalization of this experience is both permissible and necessary, both in the interest of future parliamentary activities and for assessing the value of constitutional and procedural solutions as formulated by the new Constitution and parliamentary procedure.

II.

There are both committees and commissions in the Yugoslav People's Assembly while the former are divided into parliamentary and house committees. The term commission denotes those committees which discharge certain second-order parliamentary functions, i. e. those which do not cover the creative rights of Parliament. Thus the enactment of binding interpretations of laws was entrusted to a parliamentary commission, while the establishment of the authentic texts of laws and other decisions in the Yugoslav Assembly was other than those in which the law was originally enacted falls within the competence of the Commission for interpretation of laws.

The parliamentary committees are the organs of the Assembly as a whole. There are two such committees: the administrative committee which deals with financial and

administrative matters, and the elections committee which prepares proposals for the election of bodies and individuals nominated by parliament. However, those bodies which actually represent the electoral system in the Yugoslav Assembly are the permanent house committees. Nine such committees are operating within the Federal Council: for Foreign Affairs, the Organization of Power and Administration, Economic and Social Policy and Public Health, Education, Budget, Legislation, Mandates and Immunity, and Representations and Complaints. Several permanent committees in the Producers' Council were established in accordance with the powers of this house which do not coincide with those of the Federal Council as they are narrower than the latter. With two exceptions, these committees are on the whole identical to those of the Federal Council. Needless to say, the Producers' Council is devoid of those committees dealing with affairs which do not belong to the sphere of competence of this house, i. e. there are no committees for foreign affairs, the organization of power and administration, and education. The remaining six committees are the same for both houses as they are invested with the same competence. Last, the Producers' Council has a committee which does not exist in the Federal Council, namely, the Committee for Economic Organizations.

Three fundamental principles influence the number, jurisdiction and status of these committees. The Yugoslav parliamentary committees are much smaller in number than those of the American Congress, the French National Assembly, the Italian Assembly and other representative bodies with a longer tradition. However the number of its committees, and particularly the status and role of these committees differ notably from those in almost all countries which began creating a new form of parliamentarism, namely, a system in which the assemblies would have a decisive political role. These committees mainly cover all questions belonging to parliamentary jurisdiction according to the principle of delimitation which corresponds to the powers of the federation in the Federal state and the structure of administration. Second, the committees differ by the substance of the laws enacted and the problems discussed and therefore a so-called «competent committee» exists for each matter on hand, the only exception being the legislative committee which necessarily debates every draft legislative proposal after it has been discussed by the competent committees. The legislative committee in principle assesses the legal technical matters, although it is entitled to submit, and often does so, principled proposals on modifications and amendments. According to the third principle, the committees are not sovereign bodies or organs of authority. Notwithstanding the existence of the competent committees, some matters fall into the competence of two or more committees which are likewise entitled to carry out revisions and amendments on which the final decision rests with the Parliament in case the committees are unable to reach a joint solution.

The committees are not organs of authority. They cannot replace the houses which are the only decisive organs of authority and in which the decisive political and public debate on all matters of general interest should take place. Consequently the committees cannot pass any act as for instance a law instead of the houses. The only sphere where the committees are invested with independent powers is the right to adopt resolutions and recommendations. However, these are not binding acts (as laws for instance). This was particularly stressed in the procedure which defines a resolution as a «public approach to certain questions within the jurisdiction of the committees», while considering a recommendation as «a public expression of an advisory opinion concerning the activities of the people's committees,



Dubrovnik

government organs, self-governing institutions and economic organizations». These acts of the committee must correspond to the laws and decisions of the Assembly. It clearly ensues therefrom that the committees cannot interfere with the work of the Federal Executive Council, or with the activities of the Federal Administration organs. They are entitled to demand reports and information, receive material, technical collaboration and assistance.

All committees, with the exception of the legislative and budget committees, have the following points in common:

a) they discuss and prepare the drafts of all federal laws, namely international agreements which are distributed among them with the maximum precision.

b) they discuss the fundamental principles and political problems within their competence which are deliberated on by the houses and which are part of the rights and duties of the Federation.

c) they discuss the drafts of other acts passed by the houses, such as declarations, resolutions, recommendations and decisions.

d) they discuss certain concrete problems connected with the work of organs, institutions and organizations engaged in activities covered by the jurisdiction of the committees.

III.

So far the legislative committee of the Federal Council held the greatest number of sessions, having convened eighty times in two years; it is followed in this respect by the Committee for the organization of authority and administration of the Federal Council (64), and the Committees for Economic Affairs of both houses of Parliament (over 60). Other committees of both houses also held a great number of sessions, particularly the Committee for Education (about 50). The Committee for the organization of authority and administration of the Federal Council concentrated during the past two years on the legal elaboration of those organs and institutions provided for by the Constitutional system the principles of which were generally laid down by the 1953 Constitutional Law. Thus, this Committee discussed the Laws on the Regular, Economic and Military courts, Public and Military Prosecution, Attorneyship, the Organization of National Defence in War and Peace, the Yugoslav People's Army, the new System of Communes, Inheritance, and a series of other Laws or legislative amendments in the field of administration. The Committees for

economy of both houses mainly discussed the annual Federal economic plans and prepared a series of other laws in the sphere of economy (on forests, railway transport, inheritance, sale and purchase of land and immovable property, etc.). The efforts of the Committee for education of the Federal Council were directed towards the enactment of laws which would foster the implementation of management in the field of education, science and culture or the legal regulation of all matters relating to these subjects. Among the laws debated by this committee and submitted to the People's Assembly one should stress the following: on Universities, School Management, Doctor's Degree, Publishing enterprises and institutions, Scholarships, Broadcasting institutions, News Agencies, and Films. The Committees for national health and social policy discussed laws on social insurance. The Foreign Affairs Committee primarily engaged in the discussion of a series of international agreements and conventions concluded by Yugoslavia in the course of the past two years.

Of course, all these data are not sufficient to enable a complete appraisal and assessment of the role and significance of committees and the committee system in the Yugoslav Assembly. They merely indicate the notable increase of committee activities in this Assembly, as well as certain changes in the volume and significance of the activities carried out by the individual committees. It should immediately be stated that the differences noted among committees with regard to the number of legislative proposals discussed cannot be attributed to the difference in the importance and capacity of the committees. Some committees have passed a greater amount of legislative proposals and achieved more significant results in this period than others, as the questions falling into their competence were more mature for legislative regulation, while the Federal Executive Council, in accordance with its plan for advancement of the new legal system, submitted a considerable number of legislative proposals in this field. Notwithstanding these circumstances, however, the extensive and comprehensive activities of these committees afford a solid basis for certain generalizations concerning the importance if not of all committees, at least of those which played a leading role in this field of activity.

Some of the Parliamentary committees assumed the task of working out the necessary legislative proposals immediately after their formation. According to the Yugoslav Constitution the deputies and the Federal Executive Council are invested with legislative initiative. In these cases the Federal Executive Council only submitted drafts or general principles of proposals of individual laws. The Committees discussed these laws and, with the assistance of the executive legislative and other services of the Executive Council, subsequently drafted proposals which they submitted to the Assembly. This practice has been more or less abandoned at present. During the past few years, the Committees demanded definite legislative proposals from the Federal Executive Council, thus making it the principal and, to a certain extent, the sole initiator of legislation. The same phenomenon was also noted in the work of the Assembly and People's Committees of the Republics. The legislative initiative belongs to the Executive Councils, of the Republics, as well as the people's committees and councils, the executive administrative organs of the people's committees for certain groups of problems. The Federal Executive Council is the executive organ of the Assembly and the highest federal and administrative organ.

Thanks to this status it is both politically and organizationally in a more favourable position to comprehend and regulate those spheres of social relations which are a subject of legislative regulation. This did not result in any particular

strengthening of the authority of the Federal Executive Council, however, nor hamper or restrict the initiative and decisive role of the Assembly in the enactment of laws in any way whatever. The assumption of the legislative initiative by the Federal Executive Council does not invest this body with the monopoly of legislative initiative. The role of the Federal Executive Council in the proposing of laws arises from its position and the present level of the country's social and political development of the country, as well as the tendency of the Assembly committees to ensure a more definite attitude of the executive organ of Parliament when debating legislative proposals.

Under the Constitution the legislative proposals of the Federal Executive Council are not binding for the Assembly committees. This was also not the case in practice. The committees not only debated in full independence the legislative proposals submitted, but also often adopted a contrary and critical attitude with regard to a series of proposals covered by the legislative proposals of the Federal Executive Council. The debate in the committees was very lively, variegated and often pursued in an atmosphere of creative discussion, sometimes marked by sharp dialogues between the representatives of the Executive Council and individual committee members. While not dwelling here on the question whether the proposals put forward by certain members of these committees were justified and founded, whether they were finally adopted by the respective committee or Assembly, it is certain that the Yugoslav Assembly committees became new and successful forums of discussion and active discussion which is generally characteristic of the system of socialist democracy. That is why the committees became characteristic forms of debating democracy which is a dominant feature in the life and work of the social and political system of today's Yugoslavia.

Thanks to such a role of the committees, the individual legislative proposals have been modified, amended and improved both in form and substance. Some of these proposals received novel solutions or were submitted to the

Assembly in a better and more comprehensive version. This active attitude of the committees in the preparation of legislation limited to a certain extent the intensity of public discussion in the assembly which was sometimes even restricted to a brief debate and vote on individual laws. In a certain sense the committees attenuated the interest and activity of deputies in a more exhaustive discussion. The division of work and specialization which is characteristic of almost all modern parliaments, under the conditions of the Yugoslav political system, inevitably influenced the place which the committees assumed in the preparation and debating of laws. Moreover, socialist democracy is all the more real and advanced, if it is a political organization of a solidary society of free citizens, and develops more as a working and debating and less as a political and traditional, parliamentary democracy.

To date the committees have not assumed all the activities deriving from their competence, particularly not those which refer to the debating of certain principled problems of policy and the enforcement of laws and policies. They mainly dealt with these problems apropos and within the framework of the discussion of the laws and other acts of the Assembly. Their activity was primarily, and to a certain extent also exclusively, limited to the discussion of legislative proposals.

The prominently active role of committees in the Yugoslav Assembly did not change the constitutional relationship of the committees and the Assembly, not that between the committees and the Federal Executive Council. The Assembly was and remains the sovereign arbiter of all proposals submitted by the committees or the Federal Executive Council. The committees did not weaken or restrict the decisive legislative rights of the highest representative body of the Federation. The Yugoslav parliamentary system did not show any tendency towards being converted into a committee rule. Although important and active, the Assembly committees remained the working cells of Parliament and its organs for the discussion and consideration of laws and other decisions to which only the Assembly can impart the force of binding rules.

YUGOSLAV EXPORTS AND RELATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPE

Dr Milan ALEKSIĆ

ANY comments, both positive and negative, have appeared in the world press in connection with the resuming of economic relations between Yugoslavia and Eastern European countries. The greatest attention, for various reasons, was paid to the rapid and positive development of commercial exchanges with the USSR.

It must be admitted that most of the comments characterized this development as a positive contribution by Yugoslavia and those countries, to the strengthening of coexistence among nations. A few of the commentators tried to attribute a perverted political meaning to this important event linking, it with the policy of strengthening one bloc of powers at the expense of the other. The commentators obviously aimed at discrediting the principle of universality on which Yugoslavia bases her atti-

tude in international policy.

It would perhaps be useful to point out in this connection that the roots of the revival of trade between Yugoslavia, the USSR and other Eastern European countries can be found in the Second Consultation on East-West trade which was held within the framework of the European Economic Commission in the Palace of Nations in Geneva, in April 1954. It was then that the first contacts were made between Yugoslav experts for foreign trade and experts of Eastern European countries and soon afterwards, in the second half of 1954, compensation arrangements were concluded between the Federal Chamber of Foreign Trade and its opposite numbers in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Eastern Germany, the USSR and Bulgaria. The conclusion of trade agreements between the Governments of Yugosla-

via and individual Eastern European countries followed somewhat later and, with the exception of the German Democratic Republic, all these agreements were signed in January-February 1955. Now we find ourselves at the end of the first one-year period since these agreements entered into force, so that their implementation and results may be dealt with on the basis of the experience gained so far.

But in order to make an objective estimation and to visualize the relative significance of these countries' participation in Yugoslav foreign trade, it will be useful to get acquainted with some general data on Yugoslav exports in 1955 (definitive statistical data are available at this moment only for nine months of 1955, so that the estimations set forth here will be chiefly based on the data for the period January-September 1955, and on the corresponding data for the same period of 1954).

If we examine simultaneously the Yugoslav exports to various continents in the January-September period of this and last year, then some interesting conclusions will be easily reached, conclusions which characterize the general tendency of the Yugoslav foreign trade in 1955. The amounts are supplied in million dinars, calculated at the rate of 300 dinars for 1 USA dollar):

Continent	1954 Jan.-Sept.	%	1955 Jan.-Sept.	%
Europe	41,012	80,9	38,594	76,8
North America	4,671	9,2	5,431	10,8
South America	2,321	4,6	2,430	4,8
Asia	1,664	3,3	2,538	5,1
Africa	998	1,9	1,243	2,5
Total	50,666	100	50,236	100

In the case of total exports, which remain at approximately the same figure of about 50.5 billion dinars in the first nine months of 1955 as well as in the same period of 1954, it appears that a sensible reduction of exports to Europe, has taken place (although of the above mentioned amount of 38.6 billions 5.3 billions falls to Eastern European countries) and that, on the other hand, exports to countries on other continents have been correspondingly increased, especially to North America (the USA and Canada) and to Asia (Near and Middle East).

A closer analysis and examination of the above mentioned data would show that this reorientation in the exports to various continents had occurred for reasons which should be sought in a definite evolution of the structure of Yugoslav exports, and in certain cases in the creation of specific situations in the exchanges between Yugoslavia and individual countries. A more sensible reduction of exports particularly affected those European countries which had oriented their purchases in Yugoslavia towards definite products, which in 1955, owing to diminished production or increased internal consumption needs, figured only in small quantities in Yugoslav exports or even, as in the case of maize, had completely dropped out of exports. A typical example is the case of the reduction of exports to Austria, who in 1955 imported Yugoslav goods to a value of 1.2 billion dinars less than in 1954. This happened primarily because maize and various fodder items had been left out of Yugoslav exports. Great Britain too imported one billion dinars less goods than in the previous year, there being no maize to buy while she reduced her timber purchases, that is, oriented them in a greater measure towards Canada and other countries. The greatest reduction in 1955 as compared to 1954 was recorded in relation to Turkey, for about 3.5 billion dinars, and in relation to Germany for an amount of approximately 3 billion dinars. This serious dislocation

in exchanges with Turkey arose from Turkey's inability to export cotton and wheat to Yugoslavia, which acted adversely on exports in the opposite direction. As regards Germany, the reason for the reduction of exchange lies partly in the reduced fodder exports from Yugoslavia as well as in that of some metals and maize, and partly in the non-settlement of outstanding questions in connection with the Yugoslav claims of a financial character.

As regards other West European countries, exports to Belgium, Holland and Norway, have been reduced, they have been increased by 1.5 billions in the case of Italy by 0.5 billions in the case of France and by 0.2 billion in the case of Switzerland. Exports to Italy developed favourably after the settlement of the Trieste question, also because the Trade agreement signed in March 1955 established a liberal regime of trade exchanges between the two countries.

It has been noted that the percentage of exports to all other continents have been increased. Of course, it would not be proper to welcome this increase, interpreting it as a result of a reduction of exports to Europe. It would be desirable, on the contrary, to see an increase of Yugoslav exports in Europe as well as in the direction of non-European countries and other continents. Such a line of development, for the rest, is also intimated by the increase of industrial production in Yugoslavia. The industrial production index this year, as against 1953, which has been taken as a basis, has risen to 128, a particularly sensible increase having been reached in the production of electrical energy, ferrous metallurgy and machine production. If the absolute increase of exports has not followed already this year, the reasons for this should be sought in the fact that the industrial products: machines and equipment for capital investment cannot be placed on the foreign market in such a relatively brief period. The success scored in 1955 in increased exports to the markets of Asia, Africa and particularly South America, constitute only the initial success of a long-term policy and could not within a single year make up for that quantity of agricultural and food products which fell short of fulfilment in exports to European countries.

The increased exports to North America, that is to the USA, came as a result of organized efforts of Yugoslav exporters, who are anxious to have the closest possible business connections with this important dollar market to which Yugoslavia imports large quantities of raw materials and various industrial equipment and vehicles.

Participation of Eastern European countries in total Yugoslav exports during the period under consideration in 1955, has reached the figure of 5.3 billion dinars or 10.7 per cent of total Yugoslav exports. If we bear in mind the economic strength of these markets, their territorial nearness to Yugoslavia and the complementary nature of their economies in relation to the Yugoslav economy then what is involved here is not a particularly important role of these countries in Yugoslav foreign trade. It must not be forgotten, however, that this first year of revolutionary trade saw the need for overcoming all the initial difficulties of acquaintance and discovery of points of contact and common interests, so that the achieved volume of exports should not be underestimated either. Past experience has shown that there exist objectively favourable possibilities for fruitful commercial cooperation. In this regard the Yugoslav economy is specially interested in the development of economic cooperation with the economies of the USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia. In these countries, one purchases, on the one hand, some of the important raw materials such as cotton, naphtha, coke, coal for coking, etc., as well as various machines, industrial equipment, precision mechanics products which are not produced

Yugoslavia. On the other hand, these markets are no less attractive in view of their almost limitless possibilities for absorbing many Yugoslav products which cannot always be placed on the markets of Western Europe. These products are primarily livestock and meat, wines, fresh and dried fruits and vegetables, tobacco, hemp and tow, parquetry, veneer, processed leather and leather footwear.

In the January-September period of this year, the main importer of Yugoslav goods among the Eastern European countries, was the USSR with 2.3 billion dinars, the runners up being Czechoslovakia with 1.4 billion, Poland with 0.8 billion, Hungary with 0.4 billion etc. These figures represent only a partial volume of exports envisaged by the concluded trade agreements, but following the transaction of business between the interested enterprises on the one side and the other side, it may be expected that a volume of exchange of 108 million dollars both ways, as laid down by the agreements (including all Eastern European countries), will be realized for the greatest part.

The usefulness for Yugoslav economy of goods exchanges with this important area has been confirmed by experience in this comparatively brief period. The fact that the other side, too, appraises the situation in similar terms is revealed by the trade agreements which have recently been concluded with the USSR and Poland for 1956 and which are aimed at providing a broader basis for trade which would also include other forms of economic and technical cooperation. Such opening of prospects for increased exchanges with Eastern European countries is in full accord with the postulates of the new economic policy which proclaims that increase of production should see a proportional increase of imports and exports. Already in 1956 the Social Plan (Plan of National Development) envisages a general increase of exports (about 15%) and this means — that exports may be increased in the same proportion in relation to the USSR and other countries of Eastern Europe, just as in the case of Western European countries and various continents.

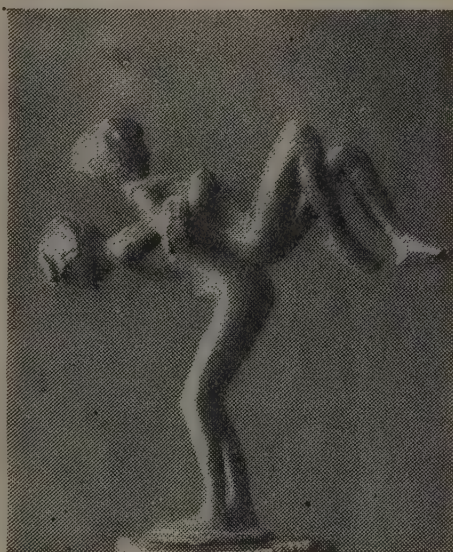
MODERN YUGOSLAV SCULPTURE

A. ČELEBONVIĆ

THE author of this book is O. Bihalji-Merin, chief editor of the magazine »Yugoslavia« and well-known expert in questions of art. The first half of last year saw the publication of an enlarged edition of his work »Modern German Art« which was first published in 1938, in England, in the Pelican Series of the Penguin Books, under the writer's pseudonym of that time »P. Thoene«. Most of his essays on art are contained in the collection »Thoughts and Colours«, published in 1952. To this can be added his essay on modern Yugoslav sculpture which serves here as a brilliant introduction to the rich photographic documents of plastic art in the lands of the Yugoslavs since the end of the last century.

It would be impossible to realize this idea from the standpoint of an artistic conviction, even from the standpoint of what is broadly termed modern art, without running the risk of omitting a series of characteristic realizations. The development of sculpture in Yugoslavia was not identical with that in Western Europe, although there were obvious influences from that side too, but constitutes an interesting network of different currents in which one can detect certain domestic ideals with frequent and quite obvious manifestations. The writer himself says that his aim was: »to inform on what happened during the last fifty years in the studios of Yugoslav sculptors and what the artists wished to express with their works«.

That is why he reviews, with the erudition of a man who follows and loves art as life, the many names of those who in that period contributed their share to sculpture, dwelling rather on what makes him feel the intensive beat of that life. Meštrović, Rosandić, Kršinić, Augustinčić and Rojanić — among the older sculptors, and Bakić and Angelj Radovani among the younger ones, were especially interpreted as an experience which the writer had while standing in front of their works, in the happy intermingling of the poetic word and historical and biographical data.



Zdenko Kalin: »Children at play«

It must be put to the writer's credit that he does not view things apart from each other, but that the concrete subject leads him on to wider esthetic associations and truths.

One hundred fifty nine full, large format photographs provide illustrations for works by fifty-two artists of the twentieth century, while nineteen smaller pictures, in the text, remind the reader of several significant works and details of the Yugoslav plastic tradition from the eleventh century till the popular chisellers of today. For those who are interested in the life of art in Yugoslavia, this book constitutes a precious document, tastefully got up.



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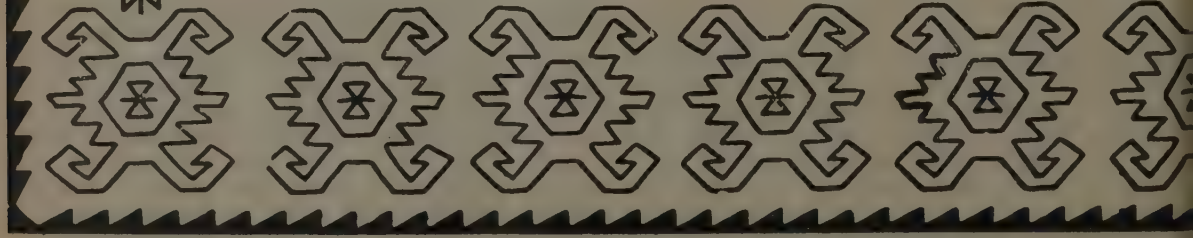
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